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the wild state by the first men, who raised them in their houses. Even today the Tukuna raise very few chickens, since they dislike their dirtying up the house or yard. Their forefathers had an aversion to the flesh but ate the eggs. Of the present generation no one refused to eat chicken with me, but in general they raise them only for sale to the Neobrazilians.

The plague of blood-sucking bats forces the poultry raisers to keep their wards almost always locked up at night in well-closed henhouses. These are generally conical in shape; one that I saw even had a veranda! Ducks, which are not very numerous, were recently introduced, as their name "pa'tu" (P., *pato*, duck) indicates.

With the exception of large mammals and birds of prey, the Tukuna occasionally raise at home the young of almost every species of wild animal that falls into their hands. These animals, all of which have the run of the place, generally stay only a short time in the possession of their original captors, since they are greatly sought after by the Neobrazilians. Others, upon becoming adult, turn wild or almost wild, coming and going at will from house to jungle and back again; they are given food, but no attempt is made to recapture them.

Every year, in the winter, the women and children are in the habit of raising the young of a marmoset called *leãozito* (little lion)[a] by the Neobrazilians. Sometimes two or three may be observed clinging to the hair of their mistress, who thus carries them wherever she goes, giving them masticated food from her own mouth. During the night she shelters them in a conical basket, woven in an openwork technique; it is suspended with the bottom down and is covered with tururí bark cloth, the round entrance being plugged up with a bit of rag. Although these tiny creatures cannot be raised outside this region, they are much coveted by civilized persons.

Fishing

Fishing is the principal occupation of the men, who rarely let a day pass without indulging in it. A boy is taught to fish, from childhood, accompanying his father in the canoe and maneuvering it at his command. Even at the age of six, both boys and girls pass long hours alone in the igarapé or igapó in the small canoes their fathers make for them. At the age of nine or ten many boys are already able to provide the household with the fish required.

The equipment consists of the fishhook, javelin, arrow, harpoon, and arrow-harpoon. According to Tessmann, bone fishhooks were formerly used. I did not succeed in getting data from my informants on this point. They were able to tell me only that in the old days the children used to fish for small fry with the mandibles of the *taóca* army ants (*Ecyton* sp.), called vɔ'/čata in Tukuna. If this is true, then the fish certainly must have been only very tiny and of no economic value.

However, the fishhook (pɔ'/va) figures in the legend of the culture heroes as the property of a demon much older than they (see p. 126). Nowadays the Tukuna do not go off in their canoes without taking one or more reeds with fishhooks of various sizes with which to experiment as soon as they arrive at a propitious place.

[a] Also called *leoncito*, *saguim leãozinho*, and *chichico* (*Cebuella pygmaea pygmaea*, Spix).—Trans.

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852 girls' ear lobes are pierced. The direction of this feast (pai-ĕ'n|), as that of the painting ceremony, falls to the paternal aunt. Both follow the procedures common [604] to all the rites of passage, which are described in detail in connection with the puberty ceremony.

Spix relates that at the ceremony which he personally attended in Tabatinga (though from the evidence he apparently witnessed it only from afar!) the hair was plucked from a child two months old, and he says that this ceremony frequently cost the life of the child![1] But the boy shown in his plate "Maskenzug der Ticunas" has a bald head, is held in a woman's arms (it should be in a carrying sling), and appears to be about two years old. In any case, I have never seen or heard of a single instance where this operation caused the slightest harm to the child.

The hair-plucking ceremony, celebrated with all the elaboration of the major festivals, lasts two or three days. On the morning of the second day the child is [302] decorated with thick urucú paint on which hawk plumage is glued (pl. 12, *o*). Horizontal lines are painted to encircle the arms, forearms, thighs, and legs; two vertical lines are drawn on the front of the torso and two behind, and spots are daubed on the cheeks and forehead. On the arms are placed bands made from feathers (see p. 37), other bands are placed on the legs. In the process of weaving these bands, short locks of hair from one of the child's relatives are inserted.

[301] A boy has a necklace of monkey teeth placed about the neck, and he is dressed in a double tanga of painted white tururí cloth (see p. 36). For a girl, a tanga of cotton cloth is used, for which nowadays purchased material is substituted. Pectoral strings of beads complete the feminine attire. Today, even though the child [482] undergoing this ceremony has already passed far beyond the age where it requires the carrying sling, the aunt seats it in a sling of tururí ornamented with painted triangles and dances with it thus in the midst of the guests. The ears are pierced in the manner described on page 38. Before the hair plucking no drug is given to the child. I observed that the children differ individually very much in sensitiveness. All the children cry quite enough, but it was extraordinary to see a boy at [152] least four years old struggle and bellow so desperately that a man had to hold him while three women were plucking his hair. In the end, the little one was completely exhausted and without a vestige of the ornaments worn at the beginning of the ceremony. His mother, seated near by without taking part, eyed her son with an indignant look and with evident disgust at his deportment, which appeared to shame her.

Some eight months afterward the child celebrates the dyupa'këë (na-pa'këë, forehead), a complementary feast of slight importance during which the hair, by then grown anew, is clipped straight across the forehead. On the same occasion the leftover decorations from the preceding ceremony, which have been kept on purpose, are burned.

857 *Childhood.*—The lives of children run a rather monotonous course, owing to the lack of opportunity for them to associate with one another. Once in a great while, 524 with the exception of a feast, where the preoccupation is different, one may see a number of them joined in play. Their toys are dolls of muirapiranga wood (see

[1] Spix and Martius, p. 1188.

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pl. 9, *b*) and animal figures, also of wood, miniature canoes, and small bows and arrows. Not uncommonly one will see a spinning-top (ñu'tomačë; Tessmann, *nótomas*) made of a tucumã nut, with a lateral hole and a wooden peg; it is spun by a cord twisted about this peg, the loop fastening the top being jerked by the left hand, which secures it. Contrary to what Tessmann says, the Tukuna do have the whirligig or buzzer disk (*Surrscheibe*, mu'uk[; l.g., mutuca, or gadfly)* made of a piece of gourd with serrated edges. The bull-roarer (*brinquedo do cão*) is rare; some say that it came to the Tukuna as a Neobrazilian game. Little girls and young maidens sometimes pass the time making cat's cradles with an endless cord, stretching it between the fingers and toes and using the teeth as an aid.

Very early, a small burden basket is made for a girl, with which she accompanies her mother to the clearing. A boy receives a small paddle and javelin and goes with his father in the canoe to fish. Furthermore, children begin to take active part in festivities at an early age, dancing with their little companions of the same age and sex and partaking of alcoholic beverages when their parents permit it. Later on, even though they can scarcely propel a canoe, they begin to play for hours on end in the igapó, killing small fry and eating tiny fruits.

Because they all, from the age of two years, know how to swim, there is no danger of drowning. Similarly, while searching for fruits they learn to climb trees with astonishing dexterity; they sometimes spend hours perched on tree limbs simply from sheer pleasure at being aloft.

I have already referred (p. 50) to the fact that children here squall and fight among themselves much more than in any other tribe I know of; also, the parents frequently punish them physically but on the whole do not scold them much with yells and insults, correcting them with a sudden gesture and with few words or none. With remarkable calm they discipline children under two years of age who become naughty or cry obstinately. With a silencing gesture the mother or father orders the eldest sister to fetch a flower of a species of nettle (l.g., pinupinú; T., na:-ku'), of which a few specimens are planted for this purpose around the clearing, and it is placed at the child's side without a word. If he obeys, very well; otherwise, if he touches the flower lightly with the naked skin of his limbs and body, the contact produces a painful burning sensation, which, however, is considered beneficial to the health of the infant. Usually the child recognizes the nettle on sight and is terribly afraid of it. Adults apply it as a remedy for local pain, poisonous insect bites, or rheumatism. Some fathers, moved by their predilection for male children, permit boys all sorts of abuses and naughtiness up to the age of three or four, while they oblige their daughters to bear silently the frequent, and not so innocent, attacks of the brothers' petty tyranny until the day of reckoning arrives. Then, the father, deciding that the cup of patience is filled, suddenly punishes the boy in such a way that he never again trusts in paternal forbearance, never again feels secure, and flees at the slightest suspicious movement (see p. 51).

* In Brazil, non-Indians make this toy out of a button with a string threaded through the holes, the free ends being knotted together. Holding the extreme ends of the double loop in both hands, the operator winds up the string tightly by a looping motion for which the button provides the weight. The extreme ends of the string are then pulled taut, and the button rapidly untwirls the string, producing a whining sound like that of a gadfly (*mutuca*).—Trans.

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857 From the age of six or seven years, brother and sister no longer play together, each participating in the adult interests of his or her own sex until the age of puberty approaches and with it the major rites of passage tenaciously preserved to this day.

Puberty

Boys' Puberty

881 Many Tukuna still vaguely recollect that in the old days the boys were placed in seclusion when their voices changed, but I could not obtain details of this ceremony, since it fell into disuse many generations ago. Castelnau refers to the fact that the youths "ont, avant d'être admis parmi les guerriers, à subir des rudes épreuves," and then describes a ceremony of forcing boys to submit to ant bites, a practice which certainly never existed among the Tukuna.[1]

838 *Homosexuals.*—Tessmann presents very precise information on homosexual intercourse between boys and youths: "Knaben und Jünglinge pflegen allgemein gleichgeschlechtlichen Verkehr, zumal auf den Plätzen im Busch wo sie spielen und kleine Häuschen errichten. Dieser Verkehr wird nicht bestraft wenn der Vater davon hört, sie werden nicht verachtet. Es giebt auch echte Gleichgeschlechtliche, die *tawuenangi* genannt werden."[2] If this is really so, I myself should have seen some indication of these practices among the Indians; however, not only did I fail to observe anything of the kind, but I was soon obliged to seek information from various trustworthy informants. All were aware that this vice exists among the Neobrazilian riverbank laborers, but they could cite no instance of its occurrence among the Tukuna. When I inquired the significance of Tessmann's term for homosexuals, pronouncing it in all possible ways, it remained completely incomprehensible to the Indians, except for the first syllable, *ta* (we).

Girls' Puberty

881 As soon as a girl senses her first menstruation she removes all her ornaments and, if her mother is absent, hangs them in the house so that they will be seen immediately; she then hides in a thicket near the house. When the mother arrives, she realizes from the ornaments what has happened and goes out to seek her daughter, who responds to the maternal call by striking one piece of dry wood against another. Round the bed of the girl, which is almost always on the upper floor of the house, the mother then promptly erects a partition made of mats of *urucuri* thatching, to which she conducts the girl as soon as night falls.

Seclusion.—From then on, the adolescent is treated as a "vorëkj," remaining in seclusion, completely invisible and inaudible to all except her mother and paternal aunt, though not required to observe any diet. There are the most fantastic and inaccurate reports of this phase of seclusion. For example, Bates writes:

"The Tukuna have the singular custom . . . of treating their young girls, on their showing the first signs of womanhood, as if they had committed some crime. They are sent up to the *girao* under the smoky and filthy roof, and kept there on a very meagre diet, sometimes for a whole month. I heard of one poor girl dying

[1] Castelnau, p. 46.
[2] Tessmann, p. 563.